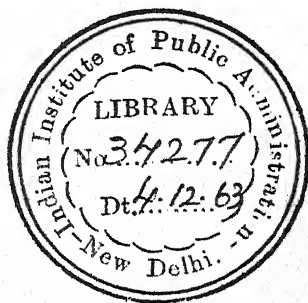


POLITICAL PARTIES

A COMPARATIVE SURVEY

by J. A. LAWS and H. L. PEACOCK, M.A.

COMMUNISM
CONSERVATISM
FASCISM
I.L.P.
LABOUR
LIBERALISM



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PREFACE

IN compiling this booklet it has been our aim both to discover for ourselves the essence of party policies and to give an unbiased account of our inquiries.

We have studied the literature of the six main parties and summarised the resolutions accepted at their most recent party conferences. We have no claim to political acumen, but we think that such a method as we have adopted will prove useful to those requiring a general political guide.

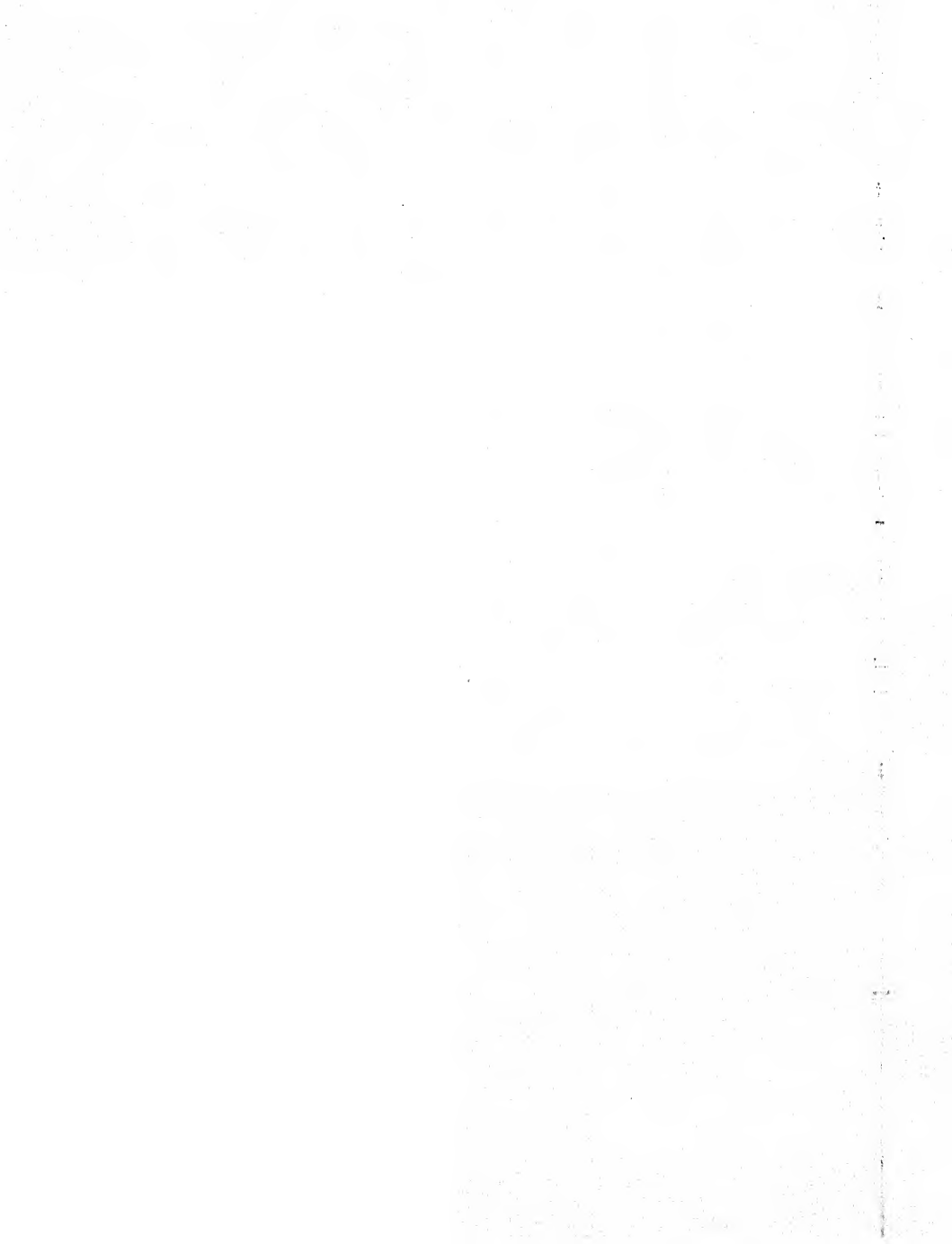
Our further object has been to enable those who may read this booklet to have some idea of the comparative merits of the proposals. For this reason we have appended a number of political questions, which would facilitate a proper assessment of these policies.

We have considered the policy of each party under the following headings:—

| | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| ULTIMATE AIM. | EDUCATION. | MONARCHY. |
| IMMEDIATE AIMS. | EMPIRE. | RELIGION. |
| POLITICAL METHOD. | FINANCE. | TRADE. |
| AGRICULTURE. | FOREIGN POLICY. | UNEMPLOYMENT. |
| ARMED FORCES. | INDUSTRY. | WOMEN. |

J. A. LAWS.

H. L. PEACOCK.



THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

ULTIMATE AIM.

The final aim of the Communist Party is the establishment of a Workers' ~~Dictatorship~~.

IMMEDIATE AIMS.

The immediate aims of the party are both economic and political. The chief economic aim is the raising of the standard of living of the working class by opposition to unemployment benefit reductions and to wages reductions in industry.

The immediate political aim is the formation of a United Front of all the Socialist Parties in Great Britain. To further this aim the party persistently attempts to secure affiliation with the Labour Party.

POLITICAL METHOD.

The chief method by which the party seeks to extend its influence is the gaining of key positions for its members in the various socialist parties, trade unions and co-operative societies. Representation on various other non-political committees, such as League of Nations Union Committees and Peace Councils, is also an intrinsic part of the party's policy. By these means it aims at wielding an influence greatly out of proportion to its small numerical power.

It envisages the supplanting of the present Parliamentary system of government by workers' councils. These councils would supplant both the central and local forms of government. The present House of Commons would be replaced by a national workers' council consisting of delegates from local councils.

The Young Communist League attempts agitation among young workers, and attempts to penetrate other organisations such as the Labour League of Youth.

SURVEY OF POLICY IN DETAIL.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

The Communists aim at setting up British workers' councils which will immediately take over ownership of all land, thereby abolishing rents, tithes, interest and mortgage charges. Occupiers of farms would remain in possession as long as they were efficient workers.

Workers' councils would give assistance to these people by advancing credits and giving expert technical help and advice. Workers would be encouraged to co-operate in organisations for the joint purchase and use of machinery, and for the sale of their products. That means all resources would be pooled and land-workers and farmers over wide areas would co-operate in building up a scientific agricultural industry of food production.

There would be a substantial increase in the rate of wages and improvements made in housing and social amenities and in educational facilities. There would also be free social insurance and organisation into trade unions.

Very large farms now run by capitalist enterprises would be taken over by the workers' State and run as model farms by the agricultural workers on these estates.

All land not used for productive purposes would be taken over by the workers' councils.

The British workers' soviets would not grow in Britain what can be grown more efficiently abroad. Exports of iron and coal would pay for these imports.

Workers' councils would also replace fishing companies. Credits would be advanced to small shipowners, who would be encouraged to form selling co-operatives. Organised distribution and the elimination of middlemen would be undertaken.

No destruction of catches would be allowed but all would be distributed through the State organisations.

ARMED FORCES.

The ultimate aim is the abolition of war with the need for armed forces. In the meantime, however, it is proposed to democratise the armed forces by putting them under the control of officers elected by soldiers' and sailors' councils,

EDUCATION.

All schools would be State schools. No payment would be made by parents, the object of this being the abolition of class distinctions. No child would leave school before sixteen. All children would be taught the elements of some trade or profession before leaving school. Free university education is also envisaged for those capable of benefiting. It is proposed greatly to extend the funds at present allotted to scientific research in relation to industry.

Adequate school dinners would be provided for children of working-class mothers. Crèches, kindergartens and clinics would be attached to all schools.

The organisation of the profession would be undertaken by those engaged in it, in co-operation with the local workers' councils and trade unions.

EMPIRE.

All countries of the Empire would be allowed complete self-determination up to and including complete separation. All industries set up by colonial workers but controlled by English people would be given back to the Colonies. This would be guaranteed by the withdrawal of all British armed and police forces from those Colonies.

India would be allowed to set up her own government free from interference of England.

Friendly relations would be encouraged with Ireland and support given to the Irish to help develop their own industries. Similar encouragement would be given to all other Colonies.

FINANCE.

The Communist Party regards the present financial machinery of the State as being mainly a profit-making instrument of the capitalist class. On this account the party proposes to nationalise the banks and to make them subsidiaries to the State Treasury. The idea of this reform is to make the banks merely the means of providing loans free of interest to the State industries. The function of money would then be a scale of transference of labour values.

FOREIGN POLICY.

While using the League of Nations as a means for presenting a case for peace, the Communist Party does not regard the League as being capable by itself of preventing war. For this reason it proposes to supplement the League's powers by the promotion of Non-aggression Pacts as at present advocated by Russia.

The party advocates the alliance of the democratic states of Europe and Russia against the Fascist states, whom it regards as potential aggressors.

At the moment it is not in favour of unilateral disarmament, but of complete international disarmament by agreement.

INDUSTRY.

1. The British workers' councils would use to the full all the productive resources of the country, and would make even more demands upon those resources, so that there would be no waste.

2. Mines. There would be no restriction quotas upon mines. Mines would work to their full productive power because there would be increasing demands as the workers' standard of living went up. Electricity would be generated at the pit-heads.

Miners themselves would work a six-hour day and special safety regulations would be enforced, for example, State compensation for accidents.

3. Iron and Steel. Electrification plans, development of fishing fleets, housing programmes, the bringing of piped water supplies into all houses, would all make new demands upon the home market of every section of the iron and steel trade.

4. Engineering. The party considers that new markets for engineering products would develop from the liberation of colonial countries from British control, which at present produces a heavy drain of purchasing power from the colonies to home capitalists. Exchange of colonial produce, such as rice and tea, for these products is contemplated. A reduction of working hours to seven would further increase employment.

5. **Railways and Transport.** The growing increase in industrial and agricultural development would expand to the full the present railway system, in which all main lines would be electrified.

The canal system would be reopened and extended.

Road transport would supplement all these.

In all sections the working day would be reduced to seven hours.

6. **Textiles.** The independence of the colonial countries would have the same effect on textile industries as in the case of engineering. The raising of colonial wage standards would provide an increasing market. The raising of home wages would greatly extend the home market for all grades of textiles.

7. **Other Manufacturing Industries.** In other industries the same would follow. A fully-employed population would constantly demand increasing supplies of commodities. The housing programme would give activity for the production of building materials, and every section of industry would be working to its full capacity, thereby finding employment for all workers.

MONARCHY.

As the monarchy is regarded by the Communist Party as an agent and symbol of the capitalist order, its abolition is demanded.

RELIGION.

The State Church both in England and Scotland would immediately be disestablished and disendowed. The workers' soviet would give complete freedom in religious and anti-religious opinions.

TRADE.

The distribution of manufactured products would be undertaken by joint distributing organisations of the factories dealing directly with shops. The system of middleman distribution would be abandoned and all overseas trade, exports and imports, would be a monopoly of the State co-operative organisations.

Co-operative societies would be encouraged by the taking over of all multiple shops by the State and would be therefore the chief means for distributing industrial products, but the small shopkeeper would still be left in possession of his business, although he would become part of the socialised distributive system.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Under the system as outlined, the abolition of unemployment is regarded as being inevitable.

Nevertheless, it is proposed to introduce a non-contributory system of State insurance.

WOMEN.

For women, soviet power would mean full economic and social equality with men. They would receive equal rights in every trade and profession and would get equal pay for equal work. There would be ample time off at full pay for confinements, with special allowances and free medical service at all times.

THE CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST PARTY

ULTIMATE AIM.

The efficient functioning of the system of private ownership of capital.

IMMEDIATE AIMS.

The "consolidation and extension" of improvements already made under Capitalism—in respect of trade, employment and the standard of living.

POLITICAL METHOD.

The chief method of organisation is that of local party associations, the usual methods of paper propaganda, and the placing of full reliance upon the system of Parliamentary elections as the mainstay of the party's power.

The method of propaganda which the party adopts is especially concerned with combating Communism on the one hand, Fascism on the other, both of which would abolish the present Parliamentary democratic system. Its propaganda is further concerned with pointing out the numerous technical and social advances which have been made during the last century under the system of the private ownership of capital.

SURVEY OF POLICY IN DETAIL.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

The aim of the party is to make England produce a greatly increased percentage of food-stuffs herself. It proposes the adoption of a general protective tariff on all agricultural produce at differential rates between foreign countries and the British Dominions. This tariff will be flexible and comprehensive in action. The party conference of 1936 passed a resolution to this effect, and urged the payment of better wages on the land so as to retain the agricultural workers there—"thus creating an insurance against starvation in national

emergency" and a fostering of reciprocal inter-Empire trade.

The general aims and methods proposed for agriculture are: (1) the protection of the British market, by import duties, from foreign produce imported at uneconomic prices; (2) the restriction of imports by quota; (3) the provision of subsidies for agriculture; (4) the extension of marketing schemes to prevent cut-throat competition amongst home producers; (5) the expansion of consumption.

The marketing schemes are administered by boards representing the producers. The schemes are assisted by the Government and legislative sanction is given after producers have decided upon a scheme. The immediate proposals are (1) the yearly provision of not less than five million pounds for Government assistance to the industry; (2) this sum is to be mainly derived from the protective duties proposed.

ARMED FORCES.

From its policy of defence of the Empire at all costs, this party proposes to maintain an adequate standing fighting force in all its branches, and an adequate supply of reserves. To do this it proposes by such methods as the reduction in terms of foreign service to make conditions in the Regular and Territorial Army more attractive in every way. This increasing attractiveness is being advertised very widely at present, so that the numerical strength of all branches of the forces will be increased.

The Conservative Party's present policy, now being carried forward, is to modernise and extend all naval equipment so as to be in line with all the latest scientific inventions. Such a policy also extends to the Army and Air Force.

The party would not favour conscription unless the voluntary system of enlistment failed to come up to requirements.

EDUCATION.

The party proposes that the school-leaving age be raised to fifteen by September 1939, with exemption for beneficial employment. It further proposes the extension of temporary building grants for voluntary schools, "without any revival of the bitter religious controversies of the past." It proposes

to increase State scholarships in number and value, to improve the school medical service, to extend the provision of school meals, to place technical education on an up-to-date basis, to provide further nursery schools, and to bring about a system of periodic health-visiting of children under five who are not at school.

Thus, the general aim of the party's policy is the improvement of the present fabric of the educational system.

EMPIRE.

The party proposes the extension of the policy of preferential tariffs for Empire produce. Empire settlement and migration is a cardinal point of the party's policy. These views are to be urged upon the Dominions Governments as soon as practicable. The carrying out of these proposals depends upon the continuance of economic recovery in the Dominions. Grants to voluntary emigration societies are to be raised from a maximum of 50 per cent. of the cost of any scheme to a 75 per cent. maximum. The maximum yearly assistance is to be £1,500,000. The general aim of this policy is to foster Empire economic unity and security and to increase the influence of the Empire in world politics.

The maintenance of the economic and constitutional unity of the Empire is fundamental to the party's aims. For example, while granting new constitutional rights to various parts of the Empire, the party advocates that no surrender should be undertaken of mandates held by the Empire.

FINANCE.

The Conservative Party would maintain the present system of capitalist banking. It bases its hopes of full financial development upon the recovery of the industrial system.

It proposes the setting up of financial corporations within the framework of the present monetary system, but is strongly opposed to all schemes of nationalisation mainly on the grounds that they are less efficient, in the opinion of the party, than the private promotion of capital enterprise. The above corporations would be set up for special purposes, such as the administration of recovery schemes for the distressed areas in conjunction with Treasury assistance.

FOREIGN POLICY.

The Conservative Party would agree to reduction of armaments by international agreement, but is of the opinion that the country should have adequate means of defence to ensure its safety and to play an effective part in the prevention of aggressive war. It therefore desires peace with security, and proposes the adequate arming of this country, and the alliance of all neutral countries in Europe against possible aggressors.

While supporting the League of Nations it realises the League's limitations of power.

It believes that a United Empire could be a strong force for world peace and that a close alliance of the British and American peoples would also further that objective.

INDUSTRY.

The best guide to the party's industrial policy is the legislation at present before Parliament. The following main points can, however, be noted. They indicate that the party's policy is the continued improvement in industrial production and conditions of work amongst those employed.

The system of industrial subsidies bulks large. One of the best practical examples of this policy is the subsidy given to enable the revival of English tramp shipping.

Proposals for the improvement of factory conditions involve the laying down of new regulations in respect of health, ventilation, accidents and maximum hours of work. It is at present proposed that the maximum hours of work for women and young persons should be 48 hours a week in all factories. The party also proposes the curtailment of overtime working, but not its abolition. The overtime maximum for women and young persons is to be 100 hours a year, whereas the present maximum can be as much as 600 hours a year. It is proposed to enforce the regulation that no person under 16 shall be asked to work overtime and that there should be no work for women and young persons after 1 p.m. on Saturdays.

The protective measures to which reference has already been made form the other cardinal point of the party's

programme. The party aims at a system of protection which will not raise prices for the home consumer.

MONARCHY.

The party will maintain the present constitutional monarchy, and will take stern measures against any parties which attempt the overthrow of the monarchy.

RELIGION.

The Conservative Party continues the traditional policy of Church Establishment. Nevertheless, the party proposes the following change in methods of tithe collection:—The landowner will cease to be liable to pay tithe rent charge, but will become liable to pay redemption annuities to the Government for 60 years.

TRADE.

This party proposes to put the interests of the British traders above all others. For this purpose it favours the imposition of tariffs upon goods imported from foreign countries and the Empire. These tariffs are to apply to both agricultural and manufactured products and will be so arranged that the maximum possible of necessary imports will come from the Empire. But in order to help the home producer they propose to limit quantitatively the amount of Empire and foreign imports.

The aim of this policy is the creation of a favourable balance of trade and the preventing of undue dependence upon foreign countries.

The home policy is to extend subsidies to agriculture and industry, thus enabling the export industry to compete on better terms with the products of lower waged countries. Money for these subsidies will be obtained in the main from protection.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The party has no single proposal to alleviate unemployment, but by a number of schemes it hopes to reduce its incidence. These schemes include:—

- (1) The encouragement of emigration.
- (2) The discouraging of overtime work.

- (3) The creation and partial State subsidising of small industries in the distressed areas.
- (4) The continuation of research in processes of extracting oil from coal, and the ultimate erection of factories for this purpose.

It proposes to lessen the burden upon the earning members of the family of unemployed men by increasing the personal allowances for those earning members.

WOMEN.

The Conservative Party has no special policy for women as distinct from men. The reason for this attitude is that, in the opinion of the party, it would imply an approach to political propaganda on sex lines, which is out of spirit with the party.

However, certain proposals entail improvement in the economic and social position of women, such as the limitation of overtime work for women and young persons in factories, and the reforms advocated for the improvement of local midwifery services.

THE BRITISH UNION OF FASCISTS

ULTIMATE AIM.

Fascism stands for the introduction of the Corporate State.

IMMEDIATE AIMS.

To gain power by constitutional means, by winning a Parliamentary majority, by contesting Parliamentary elections.

POLITICAL METHOD.

The Corporate State is distinguished from democratic administration by the fact that it is based upon industrial or occupational organisation. Within the Corporate State every great industry would be controlled by a corporation giving the industry powers of economic self-government. This vocational principle would be extended to politics. There would be an occupational franchise for Parliament. Members would be elected to represent definite trades and callings. On an average, twenty members would represent each occupational group (e.g. agriculture, mining, textiles, professional), ten to the employing side and ten to the operative side.

Candidates would be nominated to represent an industry only from among persons who had served at least five years within the industry. Every man or woman of one year's standing in the industry would possess a vote. On the employers' side, members of the boards of directors, managers and other members of organising staffs would possess direct votes.

Fascism would establish a central government where there would be a concentration of authority, and where responsibility would rest in a comparatively few hands. It would vest supreme power in a small executive cabinet. The work of Parliament would be reduced, and would consist in laying down the principles upon which Government and the executive organisations would act. The present political parties would cease to exist and members would vote as they thought fit after hearing the opinions expressed by only those members who were previously occupationally concerned with the subject under consideration.

Detailed administration would pass largely to self-governing corporations, and the Fascist Government would reduce the present number of ministers. Administrative ministers would be called into consultation in the discussion of executive action concerning them, but the final decision would rest with the Prime Minister and his inner council, who would have complete freedom of action. Ministers would be *ex officio* members of both Houses, and Government office would be divorced from Parliamentary representation.

There could be no pro-Government and anti-Government parties in Parliament. Parliament would vote on the merits of each case only.

But a Fascist Government would be prepared to submit itself at intervals of five years to public vote, when the people would have the power to dismiss officers with whom they were dissatisfied. There would not be any opposition propaganda.

The House of Lords would be replaced by a new chamber of "notables," appointed by the Crown but holding office only for life. Appointment would be the reward of service, and so the only members of the present House permitted to remain would be the spiritual lords, legal lords and those land-owning peers who share particular responsibility as local leaders in agriculture. One of their important tasks would be to give expert advice on national administration.

SURVEY OF POLICY IN DETAIL.

Before considering the policy in detail it is necessary to note again that there would be a corporation in control of each industry. Immediately after the formation of the Fascist State these corporations would have the following duties to perform:—Regulative, Planning and Social. They would have to prepare codes of wages, hours, and conditions of work. In these corporations would be representatives of employers, workers and consumers, each group being equally represented, and the consumers' representatives would act as intermediaries between the other two. Over these corporations would be the national corporation whose duty would be to co-ordinate activities in the interests of the nation. It would be elected upon the same principle as the other corporations, and its

function would be executive and administrative. It would adjust consumption to production by a control over wage rates and would settle all controversies within the individual corporation which could not be settled by compromise.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

The Fascists believe that Britain can produce all the food-stuffs now imported from foreign countries with few exceptions, such as Manitoba hard wheat. They would do this by (1) excluding foreign food-stuffs; (2) raising the purchasing power of the population by cutting down distribution costs. It would take four years to complete this change-over, the Government cutting down foreign imports each year in proportion to the increase of home production. Farm workers' wages would be increased by the farmers adding to their present prices. This would not mean a great increase in price to the consumer because unnecessary middlemen costs would be cut and the farmer could increase his production in greater proportion to the increase of his wage bill.

Capital would be provided for the extension of agricultural production by an agricultural banking system which would lend money on a farmer's record and ability. In such cases as hard wheat, orders placed at present with foreign countries would be transferred to the Dominions. In return, this country would ask the Dominions to accept our products, such as coal.

In the fishing industry, the corporation's concern would be for more speedy methods of distribution and an increase in the demand.

ARMED FORCES.

Fascism does not approve of Britain being the one unarmed country in an armed world. It would therefore in the shortest possible time (1) give Britain an Air Force equal to any in the world; (2) modernise and mechanise the Army; (3) modernise the Fleet; (4) finance these measures by a loan specially subscribed by patriots at a low rate of interest. It is willing to disarm Britain if other nations do the same, but believes Britain can only exercise her leadership for peace as a strong power capable of defending herself.

A corporation would be established to control the manufacture of armaments.

It also believes that when Britain and France become Fascist as well as Germany and Italy, a real League of National States would arise which would preserve peace.

EDUCATION.

Fascism believes it is the duty of the State to provide all with equal opportunity of education. Specialised training up to and through the universities would be available for youths of talent. All children would receive full mental and physical training as citizens until they could take their places in industry without harm to themselves or their elders.

EMPIRE.

Fascism would maintain the British Empire and weld it into an economic whole. The expanded industry at home would require more raw materials which could be produced within the Empire. Under Fascism this country would buy raw materials from the Empire by direct bargaining. A system of Empire planning would make increasing demands for goods such as machinery to develop the primary industries of the Dominions, but by maintaining a demand for food-stuffs and raw materials in this country, the Dominions would not become rival industrial countries, but remain primarily the suppliers of farm product in this country, after the British farmer.

Fascism favours in India:—

- (1) The retention of absolute power by the British Crown, over all problems of defence and fiscal policy.
- (2) The complete abolition of the Indian tariff against British goods.
- (3) Factory legislation to abolish the present industrial conditions in India.
- (4) An economic policy of irrigation, co-operative farming and marketing.
- (5) The establishment of a corporate system.
- (6) The education of the Indian masses, but not on Western lines.

FINANCE.

There would be a banking corporation upon which the Government would impose the duty of supplying national credit to bridge the gulf between the raising of wages and the rendering of those wages economic by greater production and greater sales. The governing principle of finance would be that British credit should be used for British purposes only. Export of credit or capital would be absolutely prohibited. The Bank of England, the joint stock banks and the finance houses would be subject to the corporation, which would plan the release of national credit to the points where it would be most required. A banking code applying the principles in detail would be devised, having the force of law. By such the Government would have power to control prices, and heavy penalties would be attached to breaking the code. There would also be control and regulation of the Stock Exchange.

FOREIGN POLICY.

As in all matters, Fascism believes in the statement "Britain first." Therefore, Britain would have to be sufficiently armed to be able to take the lead in efforts for peace. Fascism believes that the League of Nations has been perverted from its original purpose and has failed. A solution would be the union of the Great Powers of Europe in universal Fascism. Under Fascism the Jews must put the interests of Britain before those of Jewry or be deported from Britain. Those who are not guilty of anti-British conduct would be treated as foreigners, but in accordance with the traditional British treatment of foreigners within these shores. The deported Jews would be able to take anything which they would have honestly earned from Britain.

Disarmament would be agreed to if other nations would do the same, and British security was not impaired.

INDUSTRY.

There would be an attempt to bring about an agreement between employer and worker by the establishment of employers' and workers' organisations with full disciplinary powers to fix national wage and hours of work in each industry, and by the creation of judiciary bodies to settle disputes

between employers and workers. This would mean the abolition of strikes and lockouts. The workers' interests would be safeguarded by insistence upon:—

- (1) Compulsory weekly and yearly holiday.
- (2) Compulsory payment of overtime rates with limitation of standard hours of work.
- (3) Regulation of piece-time rates.
- (4) Election of shop stewards in concerns employing more than a certain number of employees.
- (5) Compensation for workers of long service upon dismissal prior to superannuation.
- (6) Workers' claims to have preference in event of bankruptcy.

There would be joint organisation by employers and workers in such things as labour exchanges in each industry, craft training, superannuation schemes, educational holiday and housing schemes.

Contributions to unemployment and health insurance would be governed by the State and proportional to wages earned. There would be no means tests, the only disqualification being refusal to work at trade union rates. There would be no time limit for benefit.

The State would possess power to transfer long standing unemployed to other fields of industry.

MONARCHY.

Fascist attitude to the Crown is absolute loyalty.

RELIGION.

Fascism believes in complete religious toleration. Its business is with the nation, not with religion.

TRADE.

There would be an establishment of a distributive corporation to eliminate unnecessary middlemen. The people thus displaced would be re-absorbed in industry.

The small shopkeeper would exist side by side with the co-operative society, but the co-operative societies would have to

rid themselves of political control. Chain stores owned by Jewish and foreign capital would be eliminated.

Shipping would be entirely British. All foreign ships would be excluded from Empire trade routes and there would be only Empire crews for Empire ships.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Fascism considers that the carrying out of its economic policy would absorb the unemployed in normal industry. (See last paragraphs on Industry.)

WOMEN.

There would be equal pay for women and men doing similar work, with no dismissal upon marriage. There would also be holiday on full pay for confinement. But Fascism would combat the tendency to draw women away from the position of wife and mother.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

ULTIMATE AIM.

The ultimate aim of the party is the establishment of a Socialist Commonwealth on a classless basis. In this commonwealth all economic resources would be communally owned and controlled, the hereditary principle in economics and government would be abolished, and willingness to promote the interests of society would be the standard of citizenship. The individual share in the product of work would be measured by the standard of need.

IMMEDIATE AIMS.

The immediate aims are the accentuation of class struggle in both political and economic spheres, in order to bring about the transition to Socialism.

POLITICAL METHOD.

In view of the above aims, the party opposes all co-operation between the working-class and capitalist interests. Its main method is to influence the industrial and co-operative working-class organisation to adopt its tactics of the uncompromising class struggle against capitalism.

The party uses to the fullest possible extent the present electoral system in order to increase its political strength with the ultimate object of securing majorities in Parliament and in the localities. But the party places more reliance upon stimulating the working class to a united realisation of its power, in readiness for the capture of control, the abolition of the present system, and the substitution of a government of the workers through their various organisations.

The party proposes that the Labour Party, the Communist Party and the I.L.P. should prepare a common programme and mobilise their united forces behind this programme.

The party makes special efforts to gain sympathy among the members of youth movements, and has its own Guild of Youth.

SURVEY OF POLICY IN DETAIL.

AGRICULTURE.

The I.L.P. would abolish the capitalist framework of agriculture by expropriating the landlord class and substituting control of agriculture by Agricultural Workers' Councils in place of the Agricultural Wages Committees and the County Councils. The Workers' Councils would have the task of deciding upon all matters relating to trade union organisation, tenure of land, marketing of produce, fixation of prices and wages, the size of farming units to suit the localities, the drainage of land, and co-operation with the banking system through the local branches.

While the party believes in a certain degree of centralised control, the nature of its general principles indicates that it would give very full liberty of action to the local councils.

ARMED FORCES.

The party believes in attempting to penetrate the armed forces with Socialist and anti-militaristic propaganda, so that, on the outbreak of war the nucleus of Soldiers' Councils would have been established. After the outbreak of war it would be the aim of the party to stimulate fraternisation between opposing forces, and to secure control of the Army for the soldiers themselves by means of the above Soldiers' Councils.

It opposes all war preparations and would refuse to vote for the budgets of armed forces. On gaining power it proposes that the command of the Army, Navy and Air Force should be taken from the officer class and replaced by workers' representation.

EDUCATION.

In the Socialist State desired by the I.L.P. the ultimate control of education would be in the hands of the organised teaching profession. In all grades, education would be free. Technical details as to types of schools to be developed and methods of awarding scholarships would be left to the professional councils.

The party makes the following immediate demands:—

- (1) Raising the school-leaving age to 16—with weekly maintenance grants.
- (2) Provision at Government cost of meals and clothes for necessitous children.
- (3) Provision of adequate playing fields.
- (4) Reduction of the size of classes in all grades of education to a maximum of 30.

EMPIRE.

The I.L.P. believes in the complete overthrow of British imperialism and the removal of all British armed forces from the territories of other peoples within the Empire. It declares that all movements of opposition to English control within the Empire should be supported, even though these movements may not have Socialist aims. But it advocates that these movements of national opposition must, in order to be completely in the interest of these peoples, be turned into revolutionary Socialist channels.

It advocates the abandonment of any attempt by British authorities to control the development of native industrial and political movements.

FINANCE.

All banks would be socialised, i.e. would be made to subserve the ends of industry and the demands of the Workers' Councils. The principle of capitalist rent and interest would be abolished.

The party has certain immediate financial demands which are:—

- (1) De-rating of all workers whose income is below the income tax level.
- (2) Rates to be assessed on an income basis.
- (3) Passing of Local Government Enabling Act for the carrying out of the above measures.
- (4) Statutory reduction of the rents of all working-class houses by 25 per cent. and the extension of rent control to all shops and houses.

- (5) Provision of housing grants, free of interest, to local authorities.

FOREIGN POLICY.

The "foreign policy" of the I.L.P. is closely related to its attitude to war. In the first place it regards war as an outcome of the rivalry between capitalist imperial interests, in which the workers are deceived into taking part. In all wars between rival capitalist powers the party would seek to turn the clash into an attempt to overthrow capitalism in the various countries involved.

It follows that the attitude of the I.L.P. to the League of Nations is one of scepticism, and it declares that the League of Nations, being mainly composed of these clashing imperial powers, cannot ensure permanent peace. The party declares, therefore, that the workers have no interest in supporting the League of Nations which cannot be a substitute for revolutionary working-class action. It regards a war of capitalist states against Russia as probable and would make every effort to rally the working class in England and other countries against such attacks, by means of general strikes and refusal to transport munitions.

Its attitude to a clash between rival imperialist powers is to be modified in those cases where the clash is over disputes for possession of colonies and control of native populations.

The party leaves itself free to decide whether the policy of refusal to transport munitions, etc. would be assisting one or another of the imperialist powers, rather than the native populations. It is possible, therefore, that the policy of non-co-operation might not, in certain circumstances, be followed by the I.L.P.

INDUSTRY.

The immediate aim of the party in the industrial sphere is to secure the support of the trade unions for the following main demands: (1) the termination of all agreements with employers which prevent speedy action by the workers; (2) closer co-operation between unions to secure united action for the simultaneous ending of agreements in all trades and industries; (3) the establishment of factory and workshop

committees with shop stewards on every job—these committees to represent all sections of the workers employed.

The party declares that all trades councils should have the widest possible representation of local industrial workers, and regards the councils as the ultimate controlling force in industry, transport and other means of communication.

The I.L.P. advocates the creation of one industrial union for the whole mining industry, and declares its mining policy to be a demand for a national agreement and an all-round increase in pay.

The party concentrates especially on the cotton industry, and is opposed to the Redundant Spindles Act, declaring that mills kept working will make wage reductions to meet expenses imposed by the reorganisation, and that this reorganisation must entail considerable unemployment. Mainly on these grounds it opposes the idea of a cotton control board.

In regard to industry as a whole, its immediate demands are:

- (1) A minimum living wage with State allowances for children.
- (2) A maximum working week of 40 hours.
- (3) A fortnight's holiday with pay, each year.
- (4) Reorganisation of national health insurance with a State medical service on a non-contributory basis, cash benefits to be not less than those paid as unemployment benefits.
- (5) The amendment of the Workers' Compensation Act to include all workers and to secure payment of full wages during incapacity.
- (6) Repeal of the Sedition and Trades Disputes Act.

MONARCHY.

The I.L.P. would abolish the constitutional monarchy.

RELIGION.

The party would disestablish the Church and give freedom for religious and anti-religious opinions.

TRADE.

The aim of the I.L.P. in matters of trade is to gain a monopoly for co-operative trading, bringing into the movement all

branches of the retail trade. The co-operative organisations would control prices of commodities and attempt to raise the standard of wages of employees.

The distribution of agricultural and industrial products would be done through the co-operative societies in conjunction with the various Workers' Councils.

The co-operatives would also have the monopoly of foreign trade.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

While the I.L.P. believes that only the overthrow of capitalism can cure unemployment, its programme contains certain immediate demands which it considers practicable.

It demands the provision of maintenance for all unemployed persons and their dependants on a non-contributory basis. It further proposes a minimum basis of 20s. per week for adult single persons, 10s. per week for adult dependants, and 5s. per week for each dependent child. It proposes also the abolition of the waiting period.

The party proposes the abolition of the Means Test and the Anomalies Act.

The party believes in uniting the employed and unemployed in such organisations as can agitate for the above programme. It believes that all unemployed organisations should be unified and work, as far as possible, in co-operation with the trade union movement.

It considers capitalist rationalisation of industry to be a prime cause of unemployment, and attempts to oppose all such economic tendencies.

WOMEN.

The party proposes complete social and economic equality for women with men. It is opposed to any differentiation in pay between the sexes when performing equal work. It advocates the granting of pensions, above the present standard, for widows, aged spinsters and pensioners' wives under pensionable age. Pension age would be 60, or incapacitation.

THE LABOUR PARTY

ULTIMATE AIM.

The ultimate aim of the Labour Party is the establishment of a Socialist State, in which there would be no private ownership of the means of production, and in which all class differences based on the private ownership of the means of production would have disappeared.

IMMEDIATE AIMS.

The immediate aims are to secure a working majority in Parliament for a Labour Government, so as to enable it to carry through programmes of nationalisation in banking and in industry, and in Parliament to oppose all measures which it considers inimical to the economic and political interests of the working classes.

POLITICAL METHOD.

It supports, in general, the present English Parliamentary democracy, with the maintenance of the right of other political parties to freedom of expression, consonant with the continuance of that democracy.

The party believes that a transition to the classless Socialist society can be accomplished by gradual constitutional methods, and on these grounds it is opposed to ideas of a class war. In view of this latter consideration it opposes the attempts of the Communist Party to secure affiliation to it.

It bases its industrial influence on its power within the trade unions and in the Co-operative movement.

Sections of the party are in favour of the abolition of the House of Lords, while others demand merely the reconstruction and limitation of its powers.

SURVEY OF POLICY IN DETAIL.

AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

The Labour Party would bring agricultural land under national ownership. The proposed method of acquisition of this land is the passing of an Act of Parliament giving the State power to purchase all land, rural or urban, at any time after

the passing of the Act. The Minister of Agriculture should have power to issue orders without reference to Parliament for the purchase of agriculture land. This would be carried out as rapidly as possible. Compensation would be given to former owners on the basis of net annual value of land as decided by the income tax returns.

For the purpose of organisation, a National Agricultural Committee would be established. It would be responsible to the Ministry of Agriculture and on it would be representatives of farmers, workers and consumers. Under the control of the national committee there would be new county agricultural committees, appointed by the Minister. Their function would be one of organising the husbandry of nationalised land.

The national committee would set up public farming corporations to direct large-scale farming or for the management of corporative farming groups.

Further purposes of the committees would be to deal with land drainage, reclamation, afforestation, research, farm education. They would also secure the most suitable sizes of farms and the best types of farming on the nationally owned land.

There would be set up to secure the most efficient methods of marketing, a national commodity board on which would be representatives of workers, employers and consumers. This Board would control price fluctuation.

Similar conditions of tenancy would exist as at present, both on privately and nationally owned land. But certain rules of cultivation would be insisted upon by the Board.

It would be proposed that a national wages board should make final decisions on wage rates, through recommendations of the County Wages Committees only. The Board would also provide for progressive increase of wages over a number of years. There would be attempts made to raise the land workers' standard of living by such means as the abolition of tied cottages, and a national plan to build improved dwellings in co-operation with the National Agricultural Committees and the County Agricultural Committees. The party also favours the granting of more allotments to farm workers and the granting of properly equipped small-holdings.

For provision of credit to agriculture the party proposes to employ, in conjunction with the nationally owned banks, the Agricultural Mortgage Corporation set up in 1928, to provide easy long-term credit as well as working capital.

While the party suggests some regulation of imports to prevent undue fluctuation in prices, it is opposed to the policy of permanent subsidies and declares that agriculture, as a whole, must be self-supporting.

ARMED FORCES.

The party rejects alliances of the pre-war type, non-resistance and isolation. It supports the principles of collective security embodied in the League of Nations, and the use of armed forces only as a means of preventing and resisting aggression. It proposes the ultimate creation of an international armed force and the reduction of all national forces to the lowest possible limit. Meanwhile, "it is prepared for this country to make its proper contribution to the collective forces which are necessary for the preservation and defence of peace."

All special pacts between states should be in conformity with League principles, and the Labour Party supports their recognition, in that case, by the League.

The party believes that international peace can be secured by a proper sharing of the world's wealth, and would endeavour to summon a world conference to secure this object. It would make an endeavour to (1) check the present arms race, (2) substitute an international air force for the present national air forces, and establish an international service of civil aviation.

The party would set up a ministry of defence to co-ordinate the country's forces. Promotion to commissioned rank would be open to all. Employment would be guaranteed to all on the termination of service. A Bill would be passed enabling the Government to take over the manufacture of munitions.

EMPIRE.

Labour's policy for the Empire is to develop it into a commonwealth of self-governing units within the League of Nations.

In those parts of the Empire which have not achieved self-government the policy of the Labour Party is to secure self-government and Socialism for the native populations. In

those parts of the Empire where the natives are not culturally prepared for self-government, they must be educated towards that end by the provision of opportunities for local self-government and the formation of co-operative societies of all kinds. All labour conditions should be Governmentally controlled in the interests of the native labour.

Where there still exist family, tribal or village institutions, these should be assisted to become democratic and efficient. The party would bring under the Mandates System of the League all territories within the Empire which are not yet capable of self-government.

The party proposes to bring the tenancy of all native African land under a public authority, abolish landlordism and secure a variety in native tenure. Every native family would be assured of sufficient land for its support. All concessions of land to non-natives would take the form of short-time leases and would only be granted in restricted areas.

The party would also assist the organisation of native trade unions, abolish forced labour, slavery and the colour bar in all occupations, and secure agricultural education for the natives.

The Labour Party believes in equal trading rights within the Empire for all nationalities.

EDUCATION.

The party proposes to re-establish the system by which the State pays not less than 50 per cent. of educational expenditure and to reintroduce special building grants. It proposes to raise the school leaving age to 16 as soon as it obtains power, and to provide adequate maintenance allowances. It would make the new post-primary schools an integral part of the secondary system, and would level up conditions of staffing and equipment in these schools to the present secondary school standard.

In primary education it proposes to reduce the size of classes in elementary schools to 40 on the roll, with a view to the ultimate reduction to not more than 30. It would ensure that all teachers were trained, and would give more facilities for educational experiment. It would not allow wage-earning employment while a child was at school.

Grants to secondary schools would be made dependent upon their charging no fees.

The party would make the supply of school meals to all children compulsory upon local educational authorities, and not permissive as at present. All children would be supplied with milk. The aim of providing all in this way is stated to be the avoidance of charity and discrimination as between different children.

The party would take adequate steps to remedy the present deficiency of nursery schools.

The party proposes the inspection by the Board of Education of schools and educational institutions of every type.

FINANCE.

There would be set up a National Investment Board whose first duty would be to make the Bank of England a public institution. The Bank would then be administered by a staff and governor who would be responsible to the House of Commons for banking and credit policy. Through the Bank of England credit would be controlled in the interest of the Socialist plans in industry and trade.

The Investment Board would control the Stock Exchange to the extent of licensing new issues for both home and foreign investment. It would also see that credits needed at home would be satisfied in preference to foreign investment.

The Big Five would be amalgamated into a single banking corporation under public ownership and control. The Government would acquire shares and therefore the right to nominate directors. A comparatively small directorate would be appointed.

British monetary policy would be to stabilise wholesale prices at a suitable level, and to seek by international agreement the largest possible measure of stability in rates of foreign exchange.

FOREIGN POLICY.

Labour has adopted the guiding principle in its policy that Britain should settle all disputes with foreign powers by peaceful means. If Britain becomes involved in any war by its own aggression and refuses to submit a dispute to arbitration, or is condemned as an aggressor by the League of Nations, Labour will decline to support the Government.

Labour seeks security by mutual aid and disarmament through the League of Nations and would propose a world economic conference to remove the economic causes of war. (See also "Armed Forces.")

MONARCHY.

The Labour Party would maintain the hereditary monarchy.

RELIGION.

Tendency to disestablishment, but not definite.

INDUSTRY.

Labour's policy is to bring all branches of industry under national ownership and control. It proposes a complete inquiry into the coal industry. It would set up a British Coal Corporation, bringing the industry under public ownership. Compensation would be made to the present owners. For administrative purposes there would be regional boards to work the scheme efficiently. There would also be, to co-ordinate the marketing, a board which would occupy a key position. Further utilisation of coal would be attempted, to increase consumption—such as extraction of oil and other by-products.

TRADE.

The first charge on the industry would be an increased wage and increased safety while at work, for the miner.

There would also be a National Transport Board appointed by the Minister of Transport, and attempts would be made to co-ordinate road, rail and air transport, and coastwise shipping. Sections of transport like the railways would then be publicly owned and operated. The Board would then see that facilities were sufficient for public needs.

Electricity and gas supply industries, already partly owned by public bodies and subject to regulation would also be brought completely under public ownership. The national supply of heat, light and power for domestic and industrial purposes would be co-ordinated so as to make cheaper and more efficient supplies available for all.

The main concern of the Labour Party is to secure internal stability of prices, and it considers methods of trade regulation mainly in reference to this aim. Both home and imported supplies of commodities must be controlled in order to secure

long-term stabilisation of prices. The party, therefore, accepts the principle of regulating imports where necessary. The party aims at so regulating imports that home products being efficiently produced do not suffer from short-term fluctuation of prices due to foreign competition. The regulation of imports is declared to be an essential need in order to aid in the stabilisation of world prices and the proper distribution of world supplies. The method of regulation would be determined by practicability, suitability to the commodity and the cost to the consumer. "There would be no tariffs on food-stuffs nor any quota schemes which discriminate against particular countries."

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The party envisages the absorption of some of the unemployed by legislating against the practice of dismissing employed juveniles from industry as soon as they are entitled to adult wages. It would also promote special work schemes in the distressed areas and extend the assistance given beyond the present defined limits of the distressed areas. It would secure the provision of improved pensions on condition that pensioners retired from industry. For industry in general the party would secure further reductions in hours of work and attempt to discourage the practice of speeding-up.

The party would abolish the Means Test and would not make reductions in the war pensions of unemployed persons, and would secure trade union representation for the unemployed on all bodies administering unemployment payments.

WOMEN.

The Labour Party believes that the protection of women's standards of work and wages cannot be separated from the principle of the protection of wage-standards generally, and urges women to organise themselves in the Trade Union Movement.

It would advocate equal pay for equal work where men and women are working on the same jobs, but realises the complications where there is no actual comparison of work of the sexes.

It believes that a woman should not be debarred from work just because she is married, but that fitness for the job should be the test for the employment of women as with men.

THE LIBERAL PARTY

ULTIMATE AIM.

The ultimate aim of the party is the securing of equality of opportunity for all, regardless of class and nation, the banishment of poverty and the establishment of social justice on the basis of democratic persuasion and liberty rather than on force. It envisages complete freedom of commerce for all nations and the settlement of every kind of international dispute by the development of the League of Nations and international arbitration.

IMMEDIATE AIMS.

To strengthen the party's influence in Parliament and secure as far as possible the application of Liberal principles in legislation.

POLITICAL METHOD.

The political method of the party is purely Parliamentary and constitutional, following out the normal central and local methods of party organisation in England.

SURVEY OF POLICY IN DETAIL

AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES.

The Liberal Party is opposed to all quota schemes, price fixings and agricultural tariffs, on the grounds that: (1) England cannot produce anything like all her own foodstuffs; (2) the above schemes raise prices to the consumers who comprise industrial workers to the extent of 93 per cent. of the population. In view of these opinions the party puts forward the following main proposals:—

- (1) British agriculture should concentrate on the production of those foods for which our soil and climate are most suitable. This does not apply to wheat growing, as our soil and climate, in general, are unsuited to it.
- (2) On certain areas only in Britain should wheat be cultivated, and then by the creation of large-scale farms

adapted to the use of highly developed machinery. Arable farming elsewhere should be mainly devoted to the production of fodder crops.

- (3) English agriculture should mainly concentrate upon dairy farming, stock breeding, poultry rearing, pig breeding, market gardening and fruit farming. The extension of milk consumption by the people could be so great that the production of this alone would absorb most of the land for dairy herds. This policy would not reduce agricultural labour, but would bring on the land an additional population of not less than a million.

The above type of farming should be carried on in large "factory farms" and on small family farms helped by organised co-operation in selling and buying and the use of machinery. Cheap electricity is needed and the size of present farm units needs much alteration.

There should be created a very large number of cottage gardens, allotments, small-holdings, and family farms, so that the land worker can have a chance of rising stage by stage to the ownership of a farm.

The party emphasises that the change of the land system would be gradual, and proposes the creation of powerful new authorities in every county aided by expert advice. These authorities would take over the present county council small-holdings, all land transferred to the State in payment of death duties, would buy agricultural estates coming into the market, be empowered to take over by agreement or under compulsory powers any estates badly managed. Financial and technical assistance would be advanced to all tenants of these authorities.

The above authorities would proceed to recapitalise farming. The cost of land purchase could be met by the issue of bonds to the sellers at the current rate of interest on Government bonds; direct loans to suitable tenants at a reasonable rate of interest would be made. In addition to these proposals there should be rural housing to supply every land worker with a cottage and a good garden; a system of wage adjustment through wages boards would ensure that the labourer received his due share in any revival of prosperity.

ARMED FORCES.

All countries must be brought into active co-operation with the League. A Liberal policy for disarmament would include the following points: (1) The abandonment of all aggressive weapons forbidden to Germany by the Versailles Treaty. (2) The fixing of armaments expenditure for all countries. (3) Prohibition of manufacture of poison-gas. (4) International commission to supervise the carrying out of the above regulations. (5) Prohibition of the private manufacture and sale of arms in all countries. (6) Establishment of international control of civil aviation so as to prevent the sudden transformation of civil into military aircraft.

EDUCATION.

The party regards the present system as only a skeleton which has yet to be fully developed.

Infant welfare centres should be established in every town and village.

Nursery schools and classes should be steadily extended, as their main benefit accrues to the children between 3 and 5, who have not home conditions suited to their development in these years.

The party proposes to decrease the size of classes in elementary schools and to replace all unsuitable buildings by efficient ones. This latter aim especially applies to the buildings of the voluntary schools.

The school-leaving age should be raised to 16, with maintenance grants where necessary.

The secondary schools must increase their scholarship accommodation. The secondary school curricula should be divorced from university requirements, as only a small proportion of secondary pupils proceed to the universities. A more abundant provision of scholarships to the universities is greatly needed.

The scheme of continuation schools provided for in the Fisher Act of 1918 was never carried into effect and this should now be remedied. Training for unemployed adolescents should be one of the aims of these schools.

Technical education should be rapidly increased. For example, if agriculture is to be reorganised there must be more research centres and training schools for young farmers.

The professional and economic status of teachers must be carefully safeguarded, as upon this the success of English education ultimately depends.

EMPIRE.

The Liberal Party advocates the gradual concession of self-government to those parts of the Empire which have not yet obtained it. The transition should be made without conflict and with mutual goodwill, and, in the case of India, the country should continue to be a member of the British Empire on terms of equality with the other members.

In more backward parts of the Empire, such as Nigeria, the populations must be assisted in every possible way towards civilisation. In the development of the natural resources of these regions for the benefit of humanity, there should be no attempt to make a monopoly of the English commercial connection. The traders of all nations should be admitted to these colonies on the same terms as British traders.

In regard to imperial politics, the Liberal Party advocates the substitution of a more efficient system of imperial consultation on world political issues than the present quadrennial imperial conferences afford. The cost of imperial defence should also be a larger obligation upon the Dominions than it has so far been. This would also be essential were the League of Nations to lose entire effectiveness.

While advocating imperial co-operation, the party is opposed to any Empire federation involving the rule of the Empire on the above questions by a central representative assembly for the whole Empire. It considers that the sentiment of nationality within the Empire is too strong to allow of this.

The party proposes the following measures to secure closer imperial economic union. (1) The scientific planning of migration within the Empire. The opposition in most of the Dominions to further emigration could be overcome by consultation and arrangement. (2) A joint imperial discussion for the allocation of capital for the development of Empire territories. (3) The system of Empire communication and transport should be more scientifically planned so as to avoid economic waste. The Liberal Party is opposed to the use of

tariffs for securing imperial unity, as it contends that these schemes defeat their own ends.

FINANCE.

The party points out that the three main blocks of national expenditure are debt service, military services, and civil services. It considers that reduction in all these departments of expenditure is possible. It advocates further reduction of the rate of interest on the National Debt. "The military services represent the only sphere in which large reductions of expenditure are possible. But this depends upon the progress of all-round disarmament, the prospects of which are at the moment not very bright."

The party opposes subsidies on the grounds that they are maintained at the expense of other sections of the community, and thus cancel out the good they may be doing.

The party is opposed to the taxation of money set aside for capital expansion. It proposes an alteration of the rating system by which, at present, rates are paid whether profits are made or not.

The party proposes the taxation of land values in such a way as especially to include land now rapidly rising in value as a consequence of the construction of suburban estates and of ribbon building.

The party regards the banking system as in general very successful, but proposes the following reforms:—The position of the Bank of England as a national institution and not as a profit-making concern should be recognised. Its board of directors should not consist so predominately of international bankers, but should include representatives of the Government, the deposit banks, of industry, trade and labour. The existing rigid rule whereby the issue of currency is dependent upon the amount of gold in the bank ought to be reconsidered.

The appointment of a Royal Commission to advocate ways and means of making a proper adjustment between the amount of money issued and the volume of production is also necessary.

A national investments board should be established, not for control over all investments, but (1) the management of all capital funds in the hands of the Government and its various departments, sinking funds, savings bank funds, etc.; (2) it should take charge of all local loans to enable local authorities

to obtain loans at the lowest possible rate of interest. It should supervise all investments for schemes of national development.

FOREIGN POLICY.

The mainstay of British foreign policy must be the League of Nations. The party is opposed to national isolation and declares that no security can be found in a purely national, defensive policy of rearmament. The party advocates the passing of an Act of Parliament which would clearly define what part we should take in conjunction with other states against any aggressive state. This Act should empower the Government to (1) place an embargo on all munitions exported to the offending state (2) forbid any financial assistance; (3) place an embargo on all imports from and exports to the aggressor; (4) withdraw ambassadors and consuls from the offending state.

The party supports the idea of international discussions to amend the peace treaties which, it declares, contain many defects.

INDUSTRY

The Liberal Party does not accept the idea that England has lost her former world markets and considers it necessary to fight for the reopening of world markets. The following proposals are based upon the hypothesis that international trade can and must revive.

The party proposes the establishment of a Ministry of Industry, combining the functions of the Ministries of Labour, Mines and Transport, and some of the Board of Trade and the Home Office. It should be assisted by a permanent advisory council, including representatives of employers, trade unions and technicians, together with economists of standing. The department of national research should be attached to this Ministry.

The Ministry of Industry should secure the co-operation between capital and labour through joint industrial councils which would determine, if need be compulsorily, questions affecting wages, hours, and general conditions of labour.

The party proposes the acquisition by the State of all coal-mining royalties, and the assumption of the sole right of

granting leases for coal getting. This would constitute a strong lever for the reorganisation of the industry.

In regard to monopolies and combines, the Liberal Party proposes that all such concerns should be forced to publish very detailed accounts, and that the State should have the power to hear complaints against them and to force reductions of unfair prices or unfair and destructive competition. The amount of dividend they might pay should be regulated and a limit placed upon the distribution among their shareholders of new capital created out of profits. The floating of all new companies should be subjected to much more stringent conditions than at present.

The party considers State control necessary only in a limited number of cases—mainly public utilities. The administration of a nationalised service should be kept free from the pressure of politics and be put under a statutory commission, not working for profit and not exposed to Government interference, and working the concern on purely business principles. Otherwise, the State should regulate to prevent tyranny, but should not have ownership.

In regard to labour, the party proposes: (1) The fixation of a minimum wage in all industries. (2) Family allowances to help workers with young families, the money to be obtained by employers' contributions. This scheme would be voluntary in each industry. (3) A standard wage to be fixed by agreement and variable from time to time by agreement. (4) A share of profits of every concern for the workers after capital had received its fair return. (5) The appointment of workers' representatives on all boards of directors. (6) The establishment of workers' councils in all factories.

The Liberal Party urges the extension of the influence of the small investor, to be given guidance through well-established investment trusts. In this way the principle of ownership would be extended.

MONARCHY.

Maintenance.

RELIGION.

Maintenance of the Established Church, but the easing of the burden of tithe rents.

TRADE

The objective of the Liberal Party is the establishment of the maximum freedom of trade. Tariffs recently imposed should be only gradually removed, to avoid confusion. The Liberal Party would aim at a world economic conference for the purpose of the progressive reduction of tariff barriers and the formulating of an anti-tariff economic covenant. The British Government should take a lead in these matters. This object of freedom of trade can be furthered by the Government working to (1) keep price levels stable at home, and (2) secure international agreement to keep to one monetary standard, and thus secure the world against monetary crises.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The Liberal proposals are:—

- (1) Those workers who have contributed during a series of years without claiming benefits and then fall out of work should be able to claim benefits for a longer period than those who have only made the minimum contributions.
- (2) The taking of odd jobs by the unemployed in non-insurable trades should be encouraged and not more than half of what they earn in this way should be deducted from weekly benefits.
- (3) Benefits to the juvenile unemployed should be made dependent upon attendance at a course of instruction in some occupation not of a "blind alley" nature.
- (4) Black-coated workers should be allowed to contribute all the premium and obtain benefits.
- (5) The burden of continued unemployment should be withdrawn from the rates and placed upon national taxation. Some form of means test is necessary for the class of person who has exhausted normal benefits.
- (6) Those receiving unemployment relief (not benefit) should be obliged to take any job for which they are fit.
- (7) Unemployment relief should be administered by special local bodies, including representatives of employers and trade unions, working in close connection with the Labour Exchange.

WOMEN.

The Government should force all local authorities to adopt an efficient maternity service. Women should be granted full legal, economic and civil equality with men. Capacity to perform the work required should be the only test for professional or administrative appointments, and equal pay should be given for equal work.

POLICIES AT A GLANCE
A Table of Terminological Comparisons

| HEADINGS. | COMMUNIST. | CONSERVATIVE. | FASCIST. | I.L.P. | LABOUR. | LIBERAL. |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| riculture .. | Workers' Control. | Protection. | Corporate Control. | Workers' Control. | Nationalisation. | Rationalisation. |
| urch .. | Disestablishment. | Establishment. | Disestablishment. | Disestablishment. | Disestablishment. | Establishment. |
| ucation .. | Progress Self-control. | Tolerant. | Corporate Control. | Progressive Self-control. | Progressive. | Progressive. |
| pire .. | Workers' Empire. | Union. | Centralised Union. | Workers' Empire. | Equal Union. | Equal Union. |
| iance .. | Nationalisation. | Capitalisation. | National Capitalisation. | Nationalisation. | Nationalisation. | Rationalised Capitalisation. |
| reign Policy .. | International League Co-operation. | Comparative League Security. | Empire Security. | Anti-fascist. | League Security. | League Security. |
| ousing and Health .. | Nationalisation. | Semi-private Capitalisation. | Semi-private Capitalisation. | Nationalisation. | Nationalisation. | Semi-nationalised Capitalisation. |
| ustry .. | Workers' Control. | Rationalised Capitalisation. | Corporate Control. | Workers' Control. | Nationalised Rationalisation. | Controlled Profits. |
| onarchy .. | Abolition. | Constitutional. | Subjective Constitutional. | Abolition. | Constitutional. | Constitutional. |
| ade .. | International Barter. | Empire Protection. | Exclusive Empire Protection. | International Barter. | Quota System. | Free Trade. |
| nemployment .. | Anti-Means Test. | Means Test. | Labour Transference. | Anti-Means Test. | Anti-Means Test. | Modified Means Test. |

DEFINITIONS OF SOME OF THE TERMS IN THE TABLE

Capitalisation.—The promotion of industry by group or individual investment.

Centralised Union.—A movement towards the establishment of stronger control of the Empire at the centre.

Comparative League Security.—Support of the League of Nations, with the qualification that all other great powers are equally willing to adopt the League as a safeguard against war.

National Capitalisation.—The promotion and subsidising of industry by, or through the State, so that the latter should gain through the investment of private and State income.

Nationalised Rationalisation.—The national control of industrial investment, profits, and conditions of work associated with enforced co-operation between the branches and concerns of each industry, to secure the maximum efficiency.

Progressive Self-control.—In relation to education this means control by elected members of the profession whose aim would be to improve and extend the educational fabric.

Rationalisation.—This may imply any or all of the following:—

- (1) The promotion of industrial efficiency by co-operation of concerns in each industry.
- (2) The introduction of labour-saving devices and machinery.
- (3) Co-operation between labour and capital.

Rationalised Capitalisation.—Investment of private and State capital in conditions of rationalisation.

Workers' Empire.—A commonwealth in which control would be in the hands of the workers in all parts of the present British Empire.

SOME BASIC POLITICAL QUESTIONS

GENERAL.

Is there any relation between lack of Parliamentary responsibility and the promises made?

Is there a class struggle? If there is, to what extent is each party's programme affected by the class struggle?

What is the attitude of each party to the idea of the class struggle?

With whose interests are these parties really concerned?

Are economic crises inevitable?

Are there any governments in the world which have overcome crises? If so, what lessons are to be learnt by this country?

What is liberty? Is there such a thing as individual freedom under any or all of these proposed systems of government?

Is there a freedom for one class based upon lack of freedom for other classes?

How far is freedom based upon individual possession of money?

How much does class privilege account for inequality of opportunity?

PARTICULAR QUESTIONS UPON :—

AGRICULTURE.

To what extent does the prosperity of this country rest upon the prosperity of agriculture?

Is it economically possible for this country to be self-sufficing in regard to food-stuffs?

Why is it that the agricultural worker is the most poorly paid of all English workers?

ARMED FORCES.

Does war pay? If it does, whom does it pay and who pays for it?

Can any war end wars?

Is it moral to kill?

EDUCATION.

What part does class privilege still play in limiting the opportunities of the poorer classes?

To what extent does English education encourage complete freedom of thought?

EMPIRE.

To what extent has principle or lack of principle built up the British Empire?

Would the loss of British imperial possessions really injure the people of England?

To what extent do vested imperial interests uphold the idea of the value of the Empire to all?

Is our treatment of the native populations in the Empire fair?

FINANCE.

To what extent is finance parasitic upon industry? Is the present financial system indispensable to the functioning of industry?

Is unearned income justifiable?

To what extent does high finance influence the policies of British Governments?

FOREIGN POLICY.

Are the causes of war economic or political, or both?

INDUSTRY.

Can there be an identity of interests between workers and capitalists? If so, can it be made beneficial in equal degree to capitalists and workers?

Can Capitalism prevent the waste of raw materials for which there is human need?

What lessons are there to be learnt from economic experiments in other countries?

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Would a reduction in hours of work inevitably reduce the number of unemployed?

Is unemployment inherent in Capitalism?

What is the moral objection to unemployment pay?

WOMEN.

How much is sex-antagonism due to economic inequality between the sexes?

How far is industry exploiting women as a form of cheap labour?

TABLE SHOWING PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION
AND NEWSPAPERS OF THE PARTIES

| Party. | Parliamentary representation, 1937. | Newspapers. |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Communist .. | 1 | <i>Daily Worker.</i> <i>Discussion.</i> |
| Conservative .. | 380 | Unofficial { <i>The Times.</i> <i>Morning Post.</i> <i>Daily Telegraph.</i> |
| Fascist .. | Nil | <i>The Blackshirt.</i> <i>Action.</i> <i>The British Union</i> <i>Quarterly.</i> |
| I.L.P. .. | 4 | <i>The New Leader.</i> |
| Labour .. | 159 | <i>The Daily Herald.</i> <i>The Labour Magazine.</i> |
| Liberal .. | 20 | <i>News Chronicle.</i> <i>Manchester Guardian.</i> |

Note.—There are also in Parliament the following groups:—

National Labour 9, National Liberal 32.

PARTY HEADQUARTERS' ADDRESSES

- (1) COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN,
16, King Street,
Covent Garden,
E.C.4.
- (2) CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST PARTY CENTRAL OFFICE,
Palace Chambers,
Bridge Street,
S.W.1.
- (3) BRITISH UNION OF FASCISTS,
Sanctuary Buildings,
Great Smith Street,
Westminster, S.W.1.
- (4) INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY,
35, St. Bride Street,
E.C.4.
- (5) LABOUR PARTY,
Transport House (South Block),
Smith Square,
S.W.1.
- (6) LIBERAL CENTRAL ASSOCIATION,
21, Abingdon Street,
S.W.1.

For further detailed information on aspects of the various policies, literature can be obtained at the above addresses.

